

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 04051 032017Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
TRSE-00 EB-08 OMB-01 /070 W
-----107673 032107Z /72

P R 031830Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1032
INFO AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL PALERMO

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 4051

NOFORN

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, IT, PINT
SUBJ: DC SENATE LEADER BARTOLOMEI'S VIEWS ON POLITICAL CRISIS

REF: ROME 3953

1. SUMMARY: DC GROUP LEADER IN THE SENATE CHARACTERIZES DC PARLIAMENTARIANS' DOCUMENT AS AN EFFORT TO FIND PROGRAM ISSUES THAT WILL FORCE PCI TO MAKE CLEAR CHOICES ON ISSUES FUNDAMENTAL TO A WESTERN, DEMOCRATIC, MARKET ECONOMY ORIENTATION. BARTOLOMEI BELIEVES THAT ANDREOTTI WILL SUCCEED NOW IN FORMING A GOVERNMENT, BUT FEARS THAT IN HIS AND THE PCI'S HURRY TO END THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS THEY WILL PAPER-OVER DISAGREEMENTS ON THE PROGRAM ELEMENTS STRESSED BY THE DC PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS AND ENDORSED BY THE DC DIRECTORATE. BARTOLOMEI IS ALSO SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE PCI'S WILLINGNESS TO CARRY OUT PROGRAM AGREEMENT IN GOOD FAITH AND THINKS A NEW CRISIS LIKELY DURING LAST HALF OF YEAR (WHEN ELECTIONS NOT POSSIBLE) WITH PCI DEMANDS FOR CABINET POSTS. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 04051 032017Z

2. BARTOLOMEI IS A CONSERVATIVE DC LEADER. AS PRESIDENT OF THE DC GROUPS IN THE SENATE, HE WAS A CENTRAL FIGURE IN THE RECENT DC MEETINGS DESCRIBED REFTTEL. HE IS ALSO REGULARLY ONE OF THE SMALL GROUP (NORMALLY 5) IN CHARGE OF THE DC'S POLITICAL AND PROGRAM NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES. THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR MET WITH HIM ON MARCH 3 TO GET HIS VIEWS ON THE CURRENT

SITUATION.

3. IN COMMENTING ON THE RECENT MEETINGS OF THE DC PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS (REFTEL), BARTOLOMEI SAID THAT HE EXPECTS THE PCI AND THOSE CLOSE TO THE DC SECRETARIAT TO ATTEMPT TO DESCRIBE THE OUTCOME OF THOSE MEETINGS AS A DEFEAT FOR THE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE DC, ATTRIBUTING TO THE LATTER A DESIRE FOR IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS AND AN OPEN CONFRONTATION WITH THE PCI. THIS IS FAR FROM THE TRUTH, HE SAID. APART FROM A SMALL GROUP (A DOZEN OR SO OUT OF 398), THERE WAS NO REAL SUPPORT IN THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS FOR IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS AND CONFRONTATION, PRIMARILY BECAUSE (GIVEN ITALY'S PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION SYSTEM) THE ELECTORAL RESULTS ARE NOT LIKELY TO SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGE THE PRESENT POLITICAL STALEMATE. INSTEAD OF ELECTIONS, THE PARLIAMENTARIANS WERE FOCUSSED ON THE POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES. THE "CONSERVATIVE" PARLIAMENTARIANS (WHICH ARE A MAJORITY IN BOTH HOUSES, ACCORDING TO BARTOLOMEI) WERE DISSATISFIED WITH ANDREOTTI'S PROPOSALS BECAUSE THEY DID NOT SEEM TO GET ANY SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS FROM THE LEFT ON PROGRAM ISSUES IN RETURN FOR LETTING THE PCI INTO THE MAJORITY (HOWEVER DISGUISED).

4. THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS THUS FOCUSSED PRIMARILY ON PROGRAM ISSUES, ALTHOUGH THEY RECORDED LOUD AND CLEAR THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE A "POLITICAL ALLIANCE" WITH THE PCI. ON THE PROGRAM, THE "CONSERVATIVES" SOUGHT TO IDENTIFY ACTION ITEMS INVOLVING ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE WHICH RELATE TO THE PRESENT "EMER-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ROME 04051 032017Z

GENCY" AND ON WHICH THE PCI COULD BE FORCED TO MAKE A CLEAR CHOICE BETWEEN THEIR CURRENT PROPAGANDA AND THEIR OLD IDEOLOGICAL BAGGAGE. BARTOLOMEI BELIEVES THAT THE PARLIAMENTARIANS' AGREED DOCUMENT (REFTEL) IDENTIFIES SUCH ISSUES WHICH, IF CAREFULLY ELABORATED INTO SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE ACTION, WOULD NOT ONLY BE GOOD FOR THE COUNTRY BUT WOULD PUT THE PCI TO THE TEST. THIS IS NOT THE ROUTE THAT ANDREOTTI AND THE SECRETARIAT OF THE PARTY WISHED TO FOLLOW, WHICH IS THE SOURCE OF BARTOLOMEI'S DISCOURAGEMENT.

5. WHEN ASKED IF ANDREOTTI WOULD NOW SUCCEED IN GETTING AGREEMENT ON A GOVERNMENT AND ITS PROGRAM BARTOLOMEI REPLIED "I FEAR SO." HE WENT ON TO EXPLAIN THAT BOTH ANDREOTTI AND THE PCI APPEAR TO BE IN A HURRY TO REACH AGREEMENT, EACH FOR HIS OWN AND DIFFERING REASONS. BARTOLOMEI SAID THAT NEITHER HE NOR PICCOLI (DC LEADER IN

THE CHAMBER) ARE IN A HURRY. BARTOLOMEI FEARS THAT IF AN AGREEMENT IS RUSHED THROUGH, THERE WILL BE A TENDENCY ON ANDREOTTI'S (AND THE DC SECRETARIAT'S) PART TO PAPER-OVER DISAGREEMENTS ON THE PROGRAM. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THINGS ARE NOT RUSHED THERE WILL BE SUFFICIENT TIME TO DEVELOP PRECISE PROPOSALS FOR LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE ACTION ON THE POINTS

IDENTIFIED BY THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS. IF THOSE PROPOSALS ARE NOT MADE PRECISE AND SPECIFIC NOW, THE DC WILL HAVE LOST ITS OPPORTUNITY AND THE PCI WILL HAVE ITS CAKE AND BE ABLE TO EAT IT TOO.

6. APART FROM HIS CONCERNS ABOUT THE FORMULATION OF THE PROGRAM, BARTOLOMEI FULLY EXPECTS THE PCI TO ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE OR PIGEON-HOLE LEGISLATION THEY DON'T LIKE, THOUGH THEY MAY

AGREE TO IT BEFOREHAND AS PART OF THE GENERAL AGREEMENT FOR RESOLVING THE CRISIS. IN ADDITION, BARTOLOMEI BELIEVES THAT, IF ANDREOTTI SUCCEEDS IN PUTTING A GOVERNMENT TOGETHER NOW, THE PCI IS LIKELY TO WITHDRAW ITS SUPPORT DURING THE "WHITE SEMESTER" AND INSIST ON PARTICIPATION IN THE CABINET AT A TIME WHEN ELECTIONS ARE NOT POSSIBLE.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ROME 04051 032017Z

7. IN AN ASIDE ON THE MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS, BARTOLOMEI SAID THAT THE SECRETARIAT (JOINED BY SOME SENIOR LEADERS OF THE PARTY) CAME TO THE MEETING WITH THE CLEAR INTENTION OF SQUASHING THE "GROUP OF 100." THEY DID INDEED SUCCEED IN OUTMANEUVERING THE GROUP OF 100 AND LEFT IT DIVIDED AND EMBARRASSED. BARTOLOMEI COMMENTED THAT THE LEADERS OF THE GROUP OF 100 DID COME AWAY FROM THE MEETING DISCOURAGED, BUT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THEY WOULD LEARN FROM THE EXPERIENCE AND WOULD CARRY ON.

8. COMMENT: BARTOLOMEI'S PESSIMISM ABOUT THE FUTURE IS BASED IN PART ON HIS LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE PCI'S WILLINGNESS TO CARRY OUT PROGRAM AGREEMENTS IN GOOD FAITH AND IN PART ON HIS DOUBTS THAT ANDREOTTI WILL INSIST THAT THEY DO SO. ANDREOTTI, HE SAID, TENDS TO AVOID ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE AND WILL NORMALLY SEEK AND ACCEPT AGREEMENT ON WHATEVER BASIS IS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO KEEP HIS GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONING. HE TENDS TO AVOID CONFLICT AND CONFRONTATION, AND THIS TENDENCY LEADS HIM (UNFORTUNATELY, IN BARTOLOMEI'S VIEW) TO MAKE REPEATED AND UNNECESSARY CONCESSIONS TO THE PCI IN ORDER TO ENSURE THEIR COOPERATION.HOLMES

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, POLITICAL LEADERS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978ROME04051
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780098-0379
Format: TEL
From: ROME
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197803109/aaaadopu.tel
Line Count: 156
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 638d24b9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: NOFORN
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: NOFORN
Reference: 78 ROME 3953
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3124650
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DC SENATE LEADER BARTOLOMEI'S VIEWS ON POLITICAL CRISIS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IT
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/638d24b9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014